1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

[572] The word */kamheri* was used by ||Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions
684 to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is
837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a
[586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-
151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover.
153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to
182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it
578 group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned
[411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

372
#11

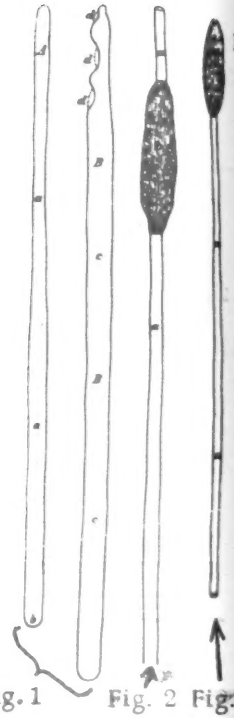


Fig. 1 Fig. 2 Fig. 3

Fig. 1. Doro (fire sticks)
A. Twirling stick
aa, Long part
b, Rounded end to be put in bored holes
B, Stick with bored holes
cc, Long part
ddd, Bored holes

Fig. 2. Stick with tree resin to glue the wrapping on the arrow
a, Stick
b, Tree resin

Fig. 3. Stick with arrow poison
a, Stick
b, Spindle of poison, which is wrapped

1/2 natural size
[as shown in original text]

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

[415] Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

294 The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
[412] an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere, or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/143 cont./

411 All the weapons are both tools for warfare and for hunting,
[526] and in a sense they are also used for sport since contests are fought with them. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Fig. 6. Lance Points. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

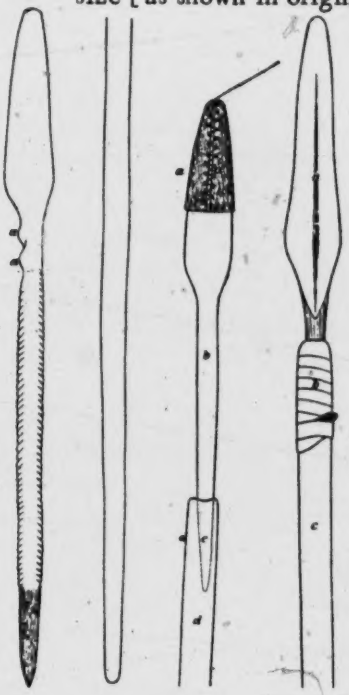


Fig. 6a Fig. 6b Fig. 6c Fig. 6d

[831] Fig. 6a. Iron point: a a, barbs. This is a "male" point; the barbs are the "testicles." The other lance points are "women," because they have no testicles (that is, barbs).

Fig. 6b. Lower end of a lance shaft, showing the tapering of a shaft at the lower end.

Fig. 6c. Iron point attached to the shaft: a, cover of sewed leather; b, iron part; c, iron part that is inserted in the shaft; d, wooden shaft.

Fig. 6d. Upper end of a spear: a, iron point; b, wrapping at

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope): c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves.

[439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable
435 possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

411 The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

[482] When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common posses-
463 sion of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.

An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

/144 cont./

411

Fig. 7. Ends of the Bow. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

Fig. 7a. End with the Bowstring Drawn Up: a, bow; b wrapping of tendons; c, string which is drawn up with a simple noose.

Fig. 7b. End with Bowstring Fastened: a, wood of the bow; b b, wrapping; b, support for the string; c, bowstring; c^1, noose which draws up tightly.

Fig. 7a

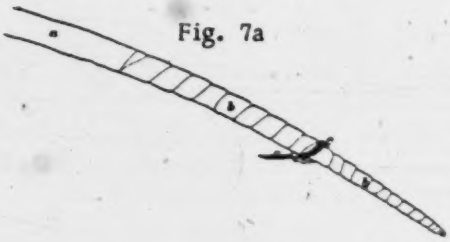


Fig. 7b

The arrowhead is a work of art carried out with the most meticulous care.

The bone arrowhead is supposedly made from ostrich bones. I am unable to name the tools used.

By means of the drawings in Figure 8 I have tried to give as graphic a picture as possible of the arrows and arrowheads.

Usually the arrows are carried together with the bow in a

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

[231] Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[439] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana. The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

251 The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

411

Fig. 8. Arrows and Arrowheads.
One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

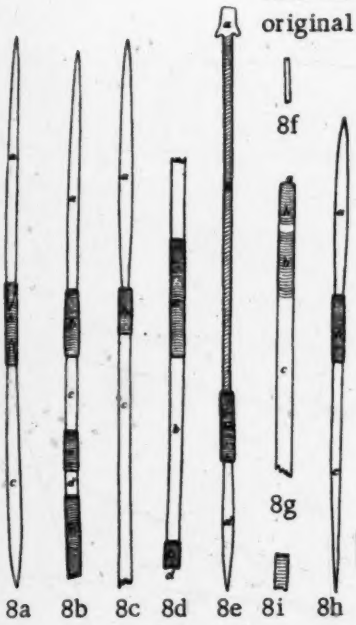


Fig. 8a shows the connection between the ends of the two points: a, bone spindle covered with a layer of poison; b, reed connection which is wrapped with a strip of grass; c, bone spindle without poison that is inserted in the shaft.

Fig. 8b. Upper end of an arrow shaft with poisoned point inserted: a, poisoned point; b, unwrapped reed connecting piece; c, bone spindle to be inserted; d, arrow shaft; e e, wrappings for the shaft (grass).

Fig. 8c. Arrow with bone point inserted: a, bone spindle; b, wrapping of the upper shaft; c, shaft.

Fig. 8d. Lower end of an arrow: a, wrapping; b, shaft; c, wraping; d, notch.

Fig. 8e. Poison arrow with iron point: a, sharp point with barbs (unpoisoned); b, iron part wrapped with strips of grass (presumably the poison does not stick to the iron); c, connecting reed; d, bone spindle to be inserted.

Fig. 8f. Strip of grass for wrapping.

Fig. 8g. Upper end of an arrow shaft: a, opening; b b, wrapping; c, reed.

Fig. 8h. Bone point: a, spindle to be inserted; b, connecting piece; c, poisoned point.

Fig. 8i. Notched end of an arrow.

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] [411] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

278 Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

278 The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
411 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

521 The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
578 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.

[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

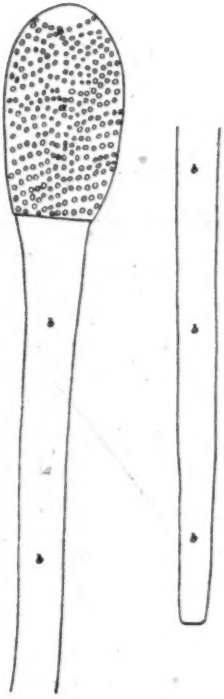
757 The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing purposes. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].



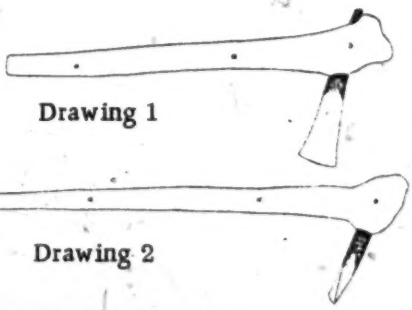
[177]

The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1

Drawing 2

Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun. Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

972

Auen

Photo. 19.
Manipulation of Device for Firemaking.

291
714

Photo. 21.
War Cap and Peace Cap.

411

Photo. 23.
Throwing
Lance.

291
411
412

Auen

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

291
301

Photo. 27.
Clothing and Equipment.

Auen

291
411
412

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

291
301

Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27] Clothing and Equipment.

411

Auen

Photo. 29.

Photo. 31.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

516
524

Photo. 33.
Game of
Chance.

411

Auen

Photo. 30.

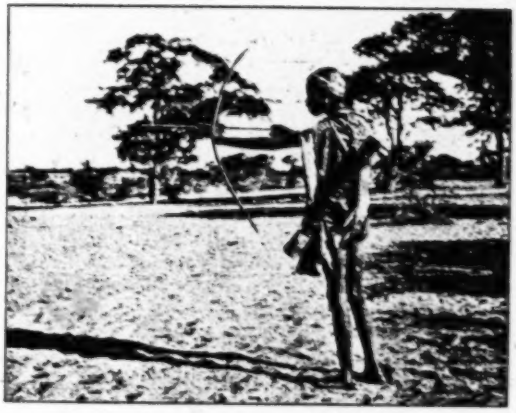


Photo. 32.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

526

Photo. 34.
Wrestling.

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[32 cont.]

224 423 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These conditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is confined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[184] [857] [411] [223] [262] [136] [223]

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[752] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

[383]

192 411 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

[39 cont.]

192 sometimes radial and sometimes in rows, is called !khui. The
411 incision at the lower end of the arrow shaft is called /gei. The arrow points are usually little triangular iron plates (//khai). The entire tip, including the binding and the poisoned part, is called !hui. [Figs. 10 and 11 appear here.]

411 The arrows are 65 to 68 centimeters long. They are usu-
278 ally poisoned. The poison, which looks like dark wax, is smeared on little sticks and preserved in this way. It consists of five in-
[413] gredients, the most important of which is euphorbia sap. Only

[824]

Fig. 10. Buphane disticha Herb., Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Medley Wood, Natal Plants, VI, 1912).

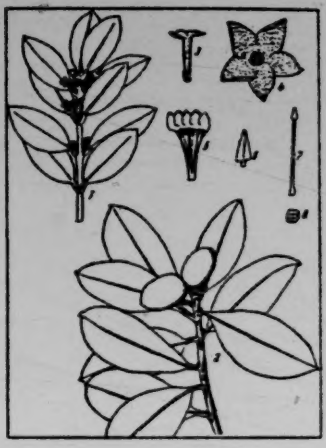


Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata, Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Sim, The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907).

certain persons prepare the poison. They know that the plant poisons are not equally effective every year. Hence, a small bushbuck is shot first, then a larger animal (say, a leopard), and finally a gemsbok. Only when the proper results are obtained with all these animals is the poison traded.

411 The lances of the !Kung consist of a shaft about 160 centimeters long, which is greatly reduced in thickness toward the back end.

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 [439] Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be- [422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 [304] Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out 177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked 415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are 278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen. 805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions; 211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 [614] Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary. To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life [888] is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so [623] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

3: Lebzelter--74 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

411
284

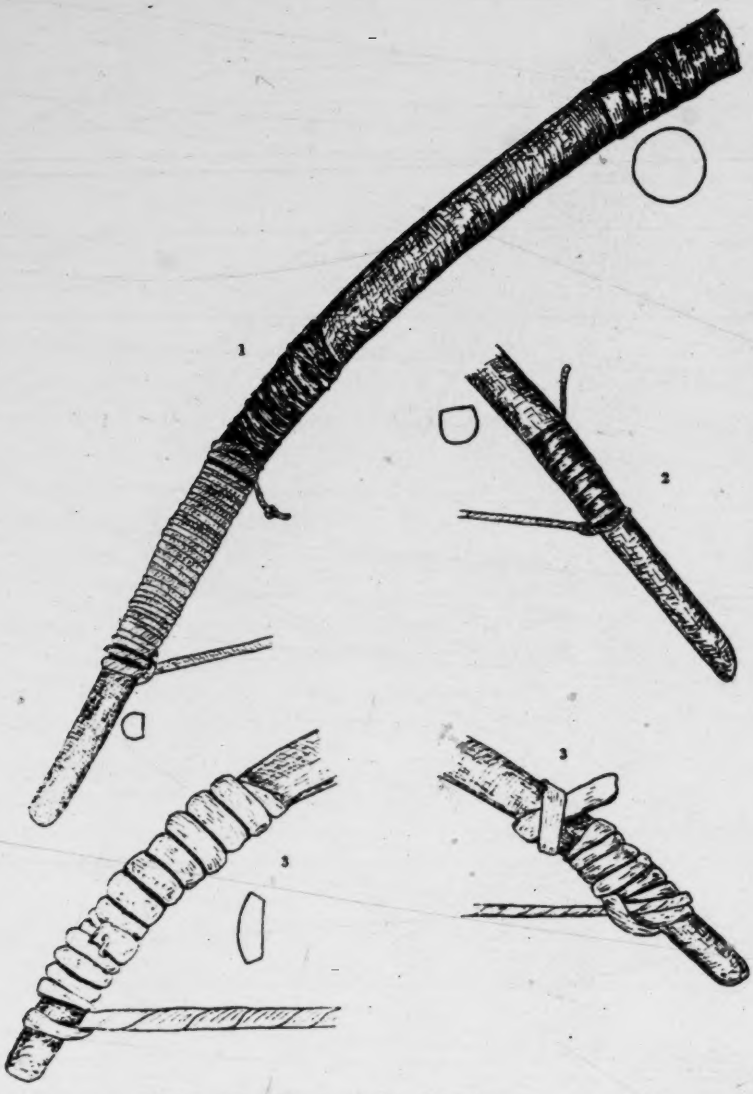


Fig. 12. Bows of the !Kung.

1. Keitsas.
2. Kuntsas.
3. Otjimpolo Veld.

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an
751 incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a
824 bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of
825 hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied
752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless
(411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine
(278) used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 Some doctors claimed to be immune
751 to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[50 cont.]

than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly successful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths: one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

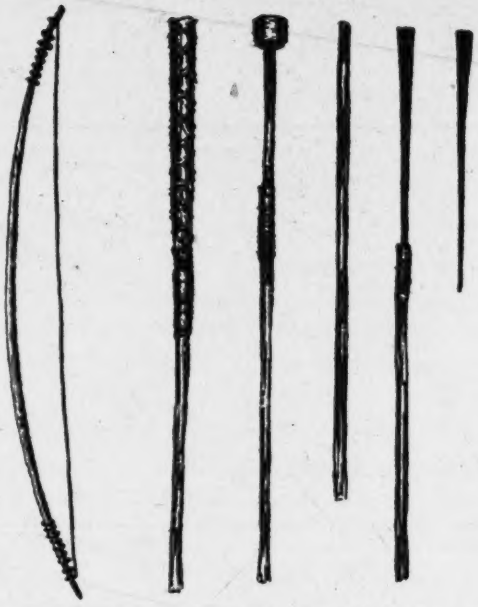


Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ǂam /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be
thrown with the medicine.

Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

!KUNG

[50 cont.]

751 concerning the witch doctors:

756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein 411 regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments, [114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [278] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

[51 cont.]

411 751 penetrate the flesh itself and introduce much more poison into the wound. The Bushmen try to protect themselves against this treacherous, but apparently frequently used weapon by attempting to immunize themselves against the poison. During a period of from three to four weeks they make small incisions on the crown of the head, which they keep open in order to rub increasingly greater doses of poison into the wounds. The consequences are purportedly symptoms of a more or less serious nature, with fever and vomiting."

000

The Mandrake Root (1)

1. In this connection cf. Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens [Dictionary of German Superstitions], Vol. I. The principal source for the medieval superstition is a passage from the history of the Judaic War by Flavius Josephus (born 37 A.D.). He writes (Bellum judaicum, VII, 6, 3; works translated by Cotta and Gförer, Philadelphia, 1838, p. 762): "The valley that encloses the city of Machärus on the northern side is called Baara and produces a root of the same name. It is flaming red and in the evening throws out red rays; it is very difficult to tear it out because it withdraws from the person approaching it and remains still only if one pours urine and blood flow (menstrual blood) on it. Even then death is certain to result from any contact unless the entire root is carried away in the hand. One can also get it in another way, namely: One digs around it in such a way that only a small part of the root remains hidden; then a dog is tied to it, and when the latter tries to follow the person who has tied him, he pulls

3: Lebzelter--119 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
MASARWA

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bush-

[285] men in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in South Africa, 1910.)

[113]

322 411 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

NARON
NOGAU
≠AUIN

[75 cont.]

Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

"I do not know how it will go with me
With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard. The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

AUIN
NARON
NOGAU
Hei//om

[76 cont.]

113

South African Journal of Science, Vol. 25, 1928.

J. Moir, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VII, 1924, p. 28.

J. Moir and J. Lewis, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VIII, 1925, p. 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F.R.C.V.S., 1926.

278 lives on the roots of an acacia. The Bushman carries several of these cocoons around with him, like cartridges, in an antelope horn. If the arrow tip is to be poisoned, a fire is made, some of the acacia resin that the Bushman always carries is smeared on the arrow tip, and then a cocoon is broken and its contents rubbed on the tip. On one occasion one of my Bushmen had overlooked a small wound on his thumb, through which the poison penetrated into his blood stream. The penetration of the poison was not very painful; he merely had a feeling "as though warm water was penetrating into his flesh." The arm was considerably swollen for a week. The others made numerous incisions and [752] scarifications with glowing sticks on him in order to save him. [262] The flesh of the animal killed in this way is eaten raw, poisonous.

278 Von François (2) reports that the Hei//om of this region

[113]

2. Von François, "Reiseberichte Windhuk-Gobabis [Travel Report, Windhoek-Gobabis]," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, V., 1892.

prepare their poison from the milky sap of the Apocynacea adenium Boehmianum. When exposed to the sun, it first becomes violet and then black. It is kept in little leather sacks and in case of need is warmed and mixed with the sap of the Habas root and applied to the arrow tips with flat sticks. These Bushmen still [411] used grooved stones to direct the arrow shaft.

#AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[76 cont.]

411 [192] The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered [431] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek 231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ǂAuin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

[77 cont.]

291 [301] in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.

11. Weapons

411 [439] The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears 411 439 are very rare today; they are obtained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

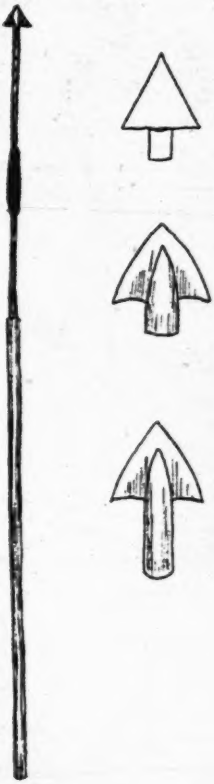


Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

411 [283] The bow of the ≠Auin is small; the string is twisted out of animal tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

411 into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths [411] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

[714] The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia
411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the [325] ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that [411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two 372 sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on
524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

411
283

Fig. 28. Bows of the Nogau. (1/3 actual size [as shown in original text]).

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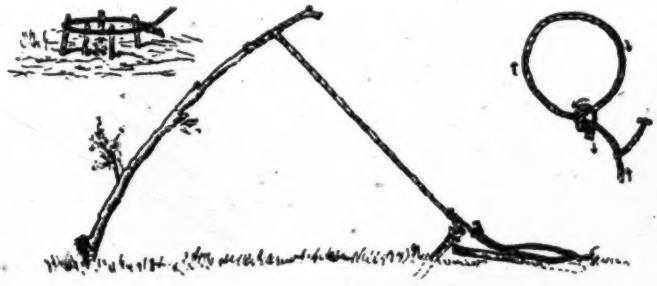

Fig. 29. Game Trap (from Gentz, Globus, Vol. 83, 1903).

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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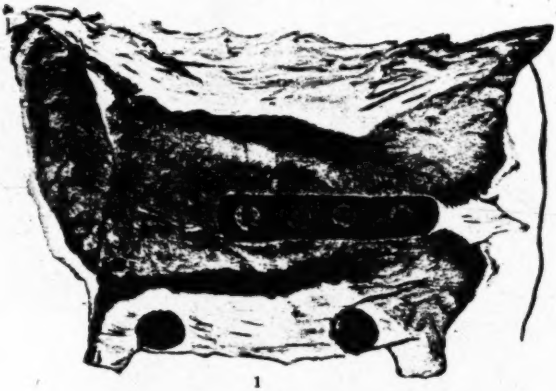

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Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

/258 cont./

000 which is used for carrying game over the shoulder.

411 Still to be mentioned are the weapons of the Bushmen. These are limited essentially to the bow and arrow. The bow consists of firm, flexible wood which tapers toward the ends.

[283] The bowstring is made by twisting together separated strands of gemsbok tendons.

The arrows have a very peculiar construction. The shaft is a piece of reed approximately 60 centimeters long, which is feathered at the lower end. A piece of eland bone, approximately 15 centimeters long, which has been sharpened to a point on both sides and carefully rounded by filing on stones, is inserted at the upper end of the shaft in such a manner that it can easily be taken out and reversed. The front end of the reed shaft, which is designed for the insertion of the bone arrowhead, /259/ is wrapped with bast in order to give it the necessary resistance. The two ends of the arrowhead are treated differently. The shorter and blunter tip is left free of poison and serves solely for hunting purposes. The 278 longer and more pointed end is covered with a brown, resin-like poisonous mass. It is very difficult to obtain any definite information from the Bushmen concerning the origin of this poison. They shyly evade questions about it.

I was able to ascertain only one fact, namely, that it is obtained by making incisions in the bark of a tree called chi (Herero: otjindombo). The arrowhead is dipped in the sap of the bark and 411 heated over the fire.

In addition to the bow and arrow, one also finds simple, unworked kirris, and -- at least among the Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld -- throwing spears with iron points that are obtained from the Ovambo in trade.

Arrow shafts and arrowheads are carried on the back in separate leather quivers.

They also use simple, feathered wooden arrows with pointed ends for fowl.

342 The dwellings are as simple as the whole way of life of the Bushmen. The huts are only a little taller than a man and about three meters in diameter; they are set up by embedding sticks in the ground. These poles, which form the framework, are joined in the center, making a dome shape, and the interstices

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

[262] 411 824 It furnishes the Bushmen not only with an edible gum, but also with the material for making quivers. These are made from the lateral roots, which are a foot or so below the surface. A suitably straight length is exposed and cut through, and after the cortex has been loosened by gently pounding it, it may be slipped off the woody central portion. The tube so obtained is then covered at one end with skin. The roots of this tree, like those of *Acacia giraffae*, have a most unpleasant smell when cut, something which is not apparent in the above-ground parts.

X137 ***Burkea africana*** **Hook. (5332) Photograph 18.**

Eastern Ikhū Bushman -ĭk'u

An evergreen tree, with attractive drooping grayish compound leaves which are silvery when young. The tips of the youngest twigs are covered with a dense reddish pubescence, but this soon wears off and the older branches and the stem have a dark brown rough bark. The flowers are small but massed in showy hanging spikes six inches long and as thick as a pencil. They are cream-coloured and scented, and produce flat one-seeded or two-seeded pods two inches long. In the Transvaal the tree has a spreading crown. Beyond Tsau the habit was very different—the branches were ascending and shorter and gave the tree a slender appearance almost like a Lombardy poplar.

It is a widespread species in tropical Africa, extending from the Magaliesberg northwards to Abyssinia and Nigeria (Codd, 1951:61). Along the route of the expedition it was scattered from the south up to a point 171 miles from Molepolole, after which it was not seen again until 65 miles north-west of Tsau. It was found only on heavy sand, and beyond Tsau where sand and hard soil sometimes alternated at intervals of a mile or so the corresponding zones of Burkea were sharply defined. The central gap in its distribution is probably a climatic one, for there was deep sand in this area and conditions were apparently ideal for Burkea.

136 262 Burkea occasionally produces a little edible gum from injuries, but it is more important indirectly because of being the host of at least two edible caterpillars, one being the larva of the moth *Nudaurelia bellina* Westwood. This caterpillar is in length and thickness slightly bigger than one's little finger. It is marked with black dots on a yellowish-green ground, with a black transverse band just below each segment and a row of stiff black bristles on each segment. It is recorded from South West Africa and is no doubt known to the Bushmen and eaten by them, but as the expedition passed through those parts too early in the season no specimens of the caterpillar were seen. The Bushmen did bring in the pupae of what they said was an edible caterpillar, and Mr. L. Vari of the Transvaal Museum was unable to distinguish them from the pupae of *Nudaurelia bellina*. One cannot, however, assume from this that they are in fact the same, for the pupae of different species in this group may be indistinguishable.

136 Another caterpillar found on Burkea and recorded also from South West Africa is the larva of the moth *Cirina forda* Westwood. It is black below and silvery or golden yellow above, with a line of black markings down the centre of the back. It is sparsely covered with long white hairs. Many other species of caterpillars have similar hairs which are extremely irritant, but these are quite harmless.

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gãus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei|ais* and, after having applied *‡norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gaw-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the *!Kũng* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 278
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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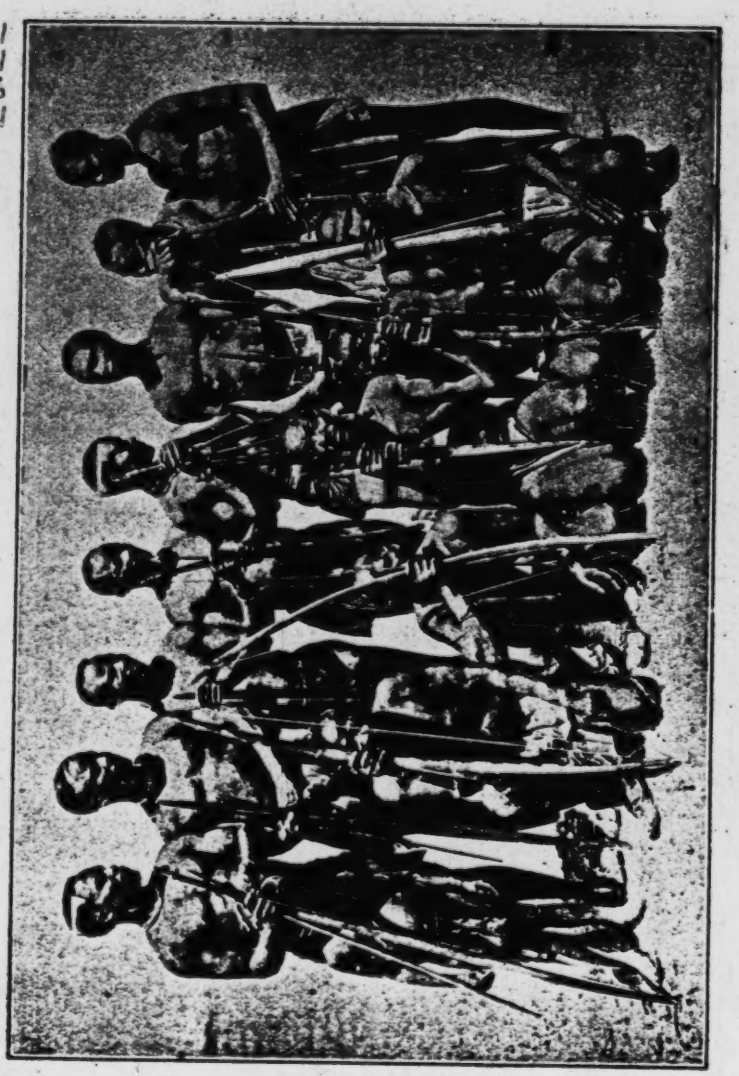

Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 100]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a 411 412 415 few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, 301 which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the 825 shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still 321 lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

let it soak. When it was moist all the way through he called to us and we then filmed him making the arrow. 123 825 321 411

We took a long time setting up the cameras, reading light meters, focusing the lenses, and finally took a picture with the still camera. To our astonishment, when the shutter clicked Gai let out a great huff of breath. One of the interpreters must have told him at some time to be absolutely still, and he had begun holding his breath when he had first seen the camera. We thanked him and told him he need never do it again, but we laughed and he was embarrassed.

Always, Bushmen were wonderful people to film. They were totally unselfconscious, never looked at the camera, and, furthermore, had infinite patience. They would stop what they were doing, wait, start again and repeat what they had done before, making each repeated action seem miraculously as if it were being done for the first time. But on this occasion Gai got bored. He had a quiverful of arrows anyway, and while he waited for us to load the camera the arrow he was working got brittle and dry. When this happened he had to suck it until it was moist again, then whittle some more.

He made the foreshaft of the arrow first, chopping with his knife to hack the rough shape of it, pausing occasionally to hone the knife blade on the tough sole of his foot, then cocking his head and squinting down the blade to see the edge. He then carefully whittled the head, leaving a tiny spine up the middle for strength but shaving the edges so thin that you could see light through them. As he worked, though, he yawned and sighed with boredom and now and then he would pause to sing a nonsense song, "bibibi di bo," by flapping his lower lip with his finger.

When the arrowhead was finished he fitted it into a reed shaft exactly the right size and bound it in place with a bit of fine sinew which he had also sucked to moisten. Then he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 123 825 321 turned the arrow over and over, sighting down its length to see if it was straight. It was.

123 411 825 278 Gai then surprised us somewhat by taking from his hunting-bag twelve round nut-like tiny shells which we recognized as the cocoons or pupa cases of the poison grubs, the source of poison for the Bushmen's deadly little arrows. Gai said he would poison his arrow, a process which he seemed to find more interesting than making it, and we said we would be very glad to see. We wondered where he had got the grubs, for he and Ukwane had both told us that there were no poison grubs anywhere near Ai a ha'o, and he said he had received them from the people whom we had met in the Okwa Omaramba, as they had plenty there.

825 278 We regretted very much that we had never seen a tree or shrub that houses the poison grubs of the Gikwe, and that we had never been able to catch one of the adults of the beetle that in its pupa stage is poisonous. Gai said that his grubs came from between the roots of a bush, called in Gikwe simply a poison bush. We do not know if the grubs are the same as the grubs used by Kung Bushmen, which live among the roots of a tree, called by the Kung a poison tree, called by us marula kaffra. The grubs of the Kung are from the beetle *diamphidia simplex*, which lays its eggs on the leaves of the tree. Once, all in one afternoon at a single tree of Kung Bushmen, I was shown by a young hunter the yellow eggs on a leaf, the young larvae just hatched, which the hunter said crawl down the tree under the bark to pupate in the earth among the roots, and the pupae of this beetle.

It has always amazed me that the Bushmen ever discovered these beetles, which are only one species among thousands in South Africa, and which the Bushmen say are poisonous only in their pupa stage. The pupae themselves are

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

hunting-bag, and when he came to poison his arrow he took them all out and felt them, shook them, to see if they were fresh. Then he took his arrow, his cocoons, and a scrap of leather he had been saving which was so thin and ragged it had very little use, and, moving all these things to a place in the grass far away from the werf, he sat down to work. He did not work in the werf because a drop of poison might be spilled and months later would still be dangerous.

Gai first spread out his rag as a work table and arranged his cocoons upon it. Then he called Witabe, who was watching from the werf, and asked for a fire, which Witabe brought in the form of a few sticks in one hand and a live coal from one of the werf fires in the bare palm of his other hand.

At last Gai was ready and his fire burning. After inspecting his fingers carefully for cracks in the skin and telling us to sit upwind from him so that no drops of poison would blow on us, he scratched open one of the cocoons. The shell was as brittle as a little seed pod. It opened easily and Gai fished inside carefully with a straw, dragging out the grub, which struggled feebly with one slight, almost imperceptible convulsion and then lay alive but motionless, curled in a U on the palm of Gai's hand. The cocoon was small and the grub must have filled it entirely, for, once outside, the grub seemed twice as large as its casing. It was a yellow one, like the kind the Kung call males, but I cannot say for certain that it was exactly the same.

Gai laid it across his thumbnail and tapped it gently, mixing the insides. Then he twisted off the head, squeezed the body, forced the paste inside onto the shaft of his arrow, and smeared it evenly with his straw. Gikwe Bushmen do not have to use a binding fluid, for their bone arrows hold the poison very well.

After the foreshaft was coated evenly all around with the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 825 278 poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that he had except two which were found to be shriveled and dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

411 184 While we were there with the camera set up and loaded we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

283 Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it, [286] and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, therefore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trapper and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a dominant voice in the running of the family, for though old men may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[P. 176(B)]

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

174 place, and stayed. In *Nyae Nyae*, the !Kung have since lived on unchanged
● [411 —replacing only their bone arrow-
points with metal ones, made from
177] the nails and wire that filtered into the desert after the Europeans' entry into South West Africa.

178 The !Kung nation cannot so live for much longer. Already their last lands are being occupied by the Herero nation—Bantu-speakers—who say: "The Bushmen are like our children. We feel obligated to care for them." It seems likely that, in a few years, these lands will be farmed by white people. Then, if the past of other Bushmen is any omen, some !Kung will become farm laborers, some will contract syphilis, some will die and some will breed. Few will marry.

000 So much for the little history and the brief geography. How do the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae?* Human ecology is the study of the relation-

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By JOHN MARSHALL

224 481 151

HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

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● [411 482 415]

CHIEF WEAPONS OF !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

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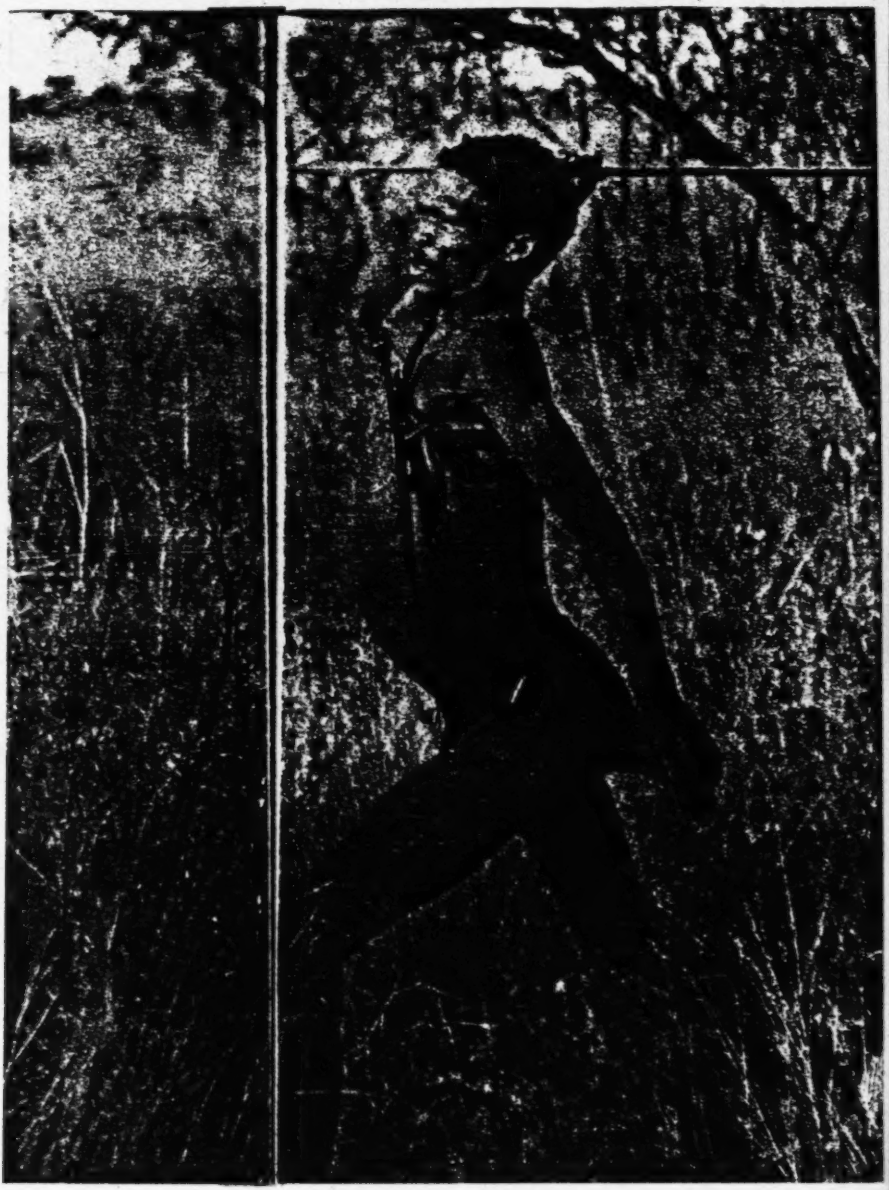

At end of chase, with quarry stricken, spears may be used on big game.

[p. 47]

224 animal will have to decide what to do. I have seen a man, using this principle, run crouched across a perfectly open flat, with grass no higher than his knees, and come within twenty yards of a wildebeest who was watching him all the time. Of course the men use cover when they can, but they use it quickly and deftly, keeping on their feet and running bent and bunched so that their arms will not wave and attract unnecessary attention. Although their arrows are true and straight, they are unfeathered and therefore not very accurate. At fifty yards, a !Kung hunter can only feel sure of hitting a kudu somewhere.

● [411]

Among the less frequently used techniques of hunting are trapping, the use of blinds built near the pans (manned at night during the rains) and a technique of running down fat elands in the dry season when, what

[p.48]

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BAGS FOR FOOD, above, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

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the point, for the slightest prick, the least bit of poison getting in such a wound, would cause death.

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[752]
Depending on where the poisoned arrow hits, a small buck can die in a morning, a man in a few hours, a giraffe in four to five days. There is nothing that can be done for a man, short of amputating a limb or immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity: it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

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As subsistence activities, the men's and women's roles—hunting and gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

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But, despite its relatively minor subsistence value, hunting is extremely important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

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POISON IS SMEARED on arrow's metal foreshaft, but carefully cleaned away from point. Commonest poison is made of tree pods mashed with beetle grubs.

[p. 62]

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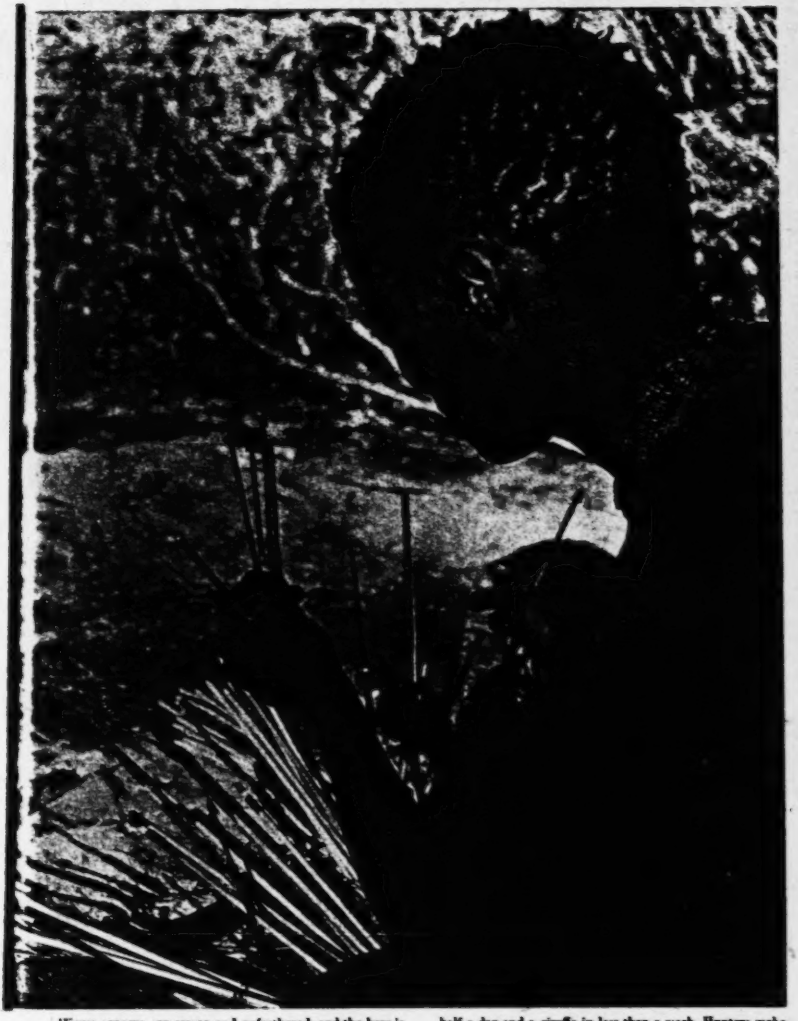

!KUNG ARROWS ARE SMALL and unfeathered, and the bow is light. But the powerful poison will kill a small buck in half a day and a giraffe in less than a week. Hunters make their own points, above, and can recognize one another's.

[p. 64]

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Adult hunters can hit their quarry at fifty yards.

[p. 69]

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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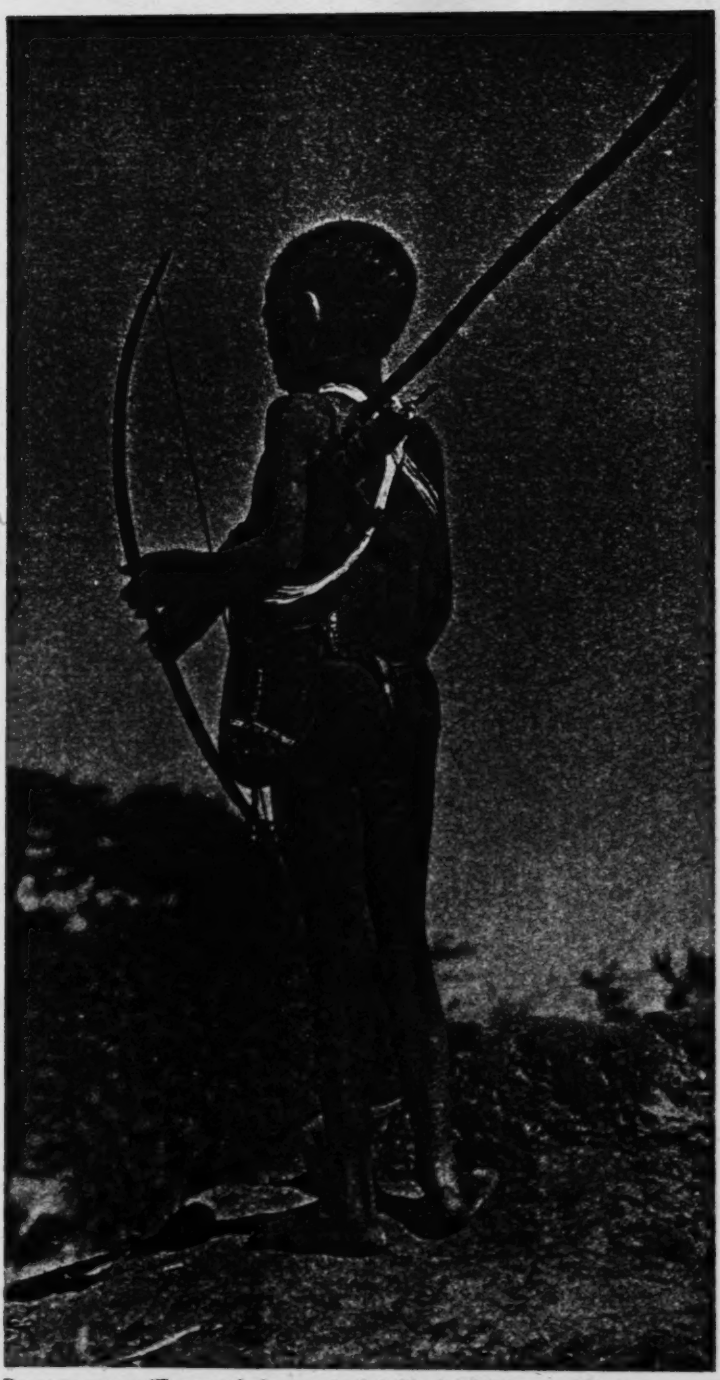

BEFORE MARRIAGE, !Kung youths have few responsibilities. But the hunt is in their blood and it is a proud boy who kills his first buck early in life.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in quarrels—though rarely—and the /Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord (' bad words ') makes them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most /Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

Talking and ' Tales '

I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much a part of the daily experience of the /Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three particular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The /Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, ' Why do you do that? ' or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances ' a talk ' may ensue.

The /Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a /Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other family fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

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Kung

or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

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301 431 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among [438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg 439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to 435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants 439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-
[100] points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements.
[411] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or Euro-
[058] pean ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

276 431 Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these passionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 431 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

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Sinews

Made and used by men

- bow-strings
- wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
- binding for hafts
- snares

Made by men, used by all

- strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

- fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

- horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
- horns for cupping

Used by all

- horns for pipes
- horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

- ostrich egg-shell water-containers
- tortoise-shell dippers
- tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

- ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys

Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

- bows
- spear handles
- axe or adze handles
- knife handles
- knife sheaths
- spring-hare hook handles[1]
- fire-making sticks
- hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

- digging sticks
- carrying sticks
- stirring sticks
- mortars and pestles
- bowls
- spoons
- fire scrapers
- *//gwashi* (musical instrument)
- one-stringed violin
- *jani* toys
- beads

Made by women

- frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nus* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

- cord

Made and used by men

- carrying-nets
- snares

Made and used by all

- ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

- stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
- ornaments

Made by women

- scherms

Made by children

- toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

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A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /õassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

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meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them, but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monotonous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, covering scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison. Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

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for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

177 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had
411 metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manu-
415
291 facture for at least 40 years.

162 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting,
433 there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 Early contacts, 1879-1925 - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/671]

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] 10. fire drill
[177] [412] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[283] 12. digging stick
[177] 13. iron knife
14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] [415] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[239] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[410] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow section of grass stem one inch in length. [177] The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

224
411 The butt end of the arrow and the two joints are bound by strands of sinew. In some arrows the iron shaft itself is
224 bound with sinew. It is the iron shaft to which the arrow
411 poison is applied. Care is taken to avoid spreading poison
278 on the tip of the arrow. The poison is obtained from the pupal forms of the Chrysomelid beetles Diamphidia sp. and
[415] Polyclada sp. The poison is prepared by squeezing the contents of several pupae into a cup made from the proximal end of the humerus of a large antelope such as gemsbok or kudu. The only additions to the poison mixture observed to be used were saliva and the juice or gum of the several species of Acacia. The use of the latter was optional. Often, without further preliminaries, the Bushmen squeezed the contents of the grub directly on to the iron arrow shaft.

[412] The pupae are mixed with a slender wooden pestle into a thin orange paste, which is then applied directly to the iron arrow shaft using a spatulate applicator especially made for this purpose. The poisoned arrow is then allowed to dry near the fire. After a few minutes it is ready for use.

There are undoubtedly regional variations in the preparation of arrow poison. The ethnographic literature lists at least a dozen substances and recipes that are claimed to be used by the !Kung Bushmen in preparing arrow poison (see Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 [231] The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

[223] [231] The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

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into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Serpedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendrasdis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachidna are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole presents an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the moister parts of the country; the anophelene mosquito conveys malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

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Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 255–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

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222 422 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only [423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 [883] [462] Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

411 The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons. The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood [824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The [283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some- [237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a [284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hanneimann," 94–6, 99–100.

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detail. The simplest type has an unfeathered main shaft of hollow reed about fifteen inches long, notched at one end to receive the bowstring, and a head about six inches long (Plate IXf). The latter is made of either wood or a fragment of bone split off from the tibia of an ostrich, and is inserted into the hollow of the shaft. At the connection there is a binding of sinew round the end of the shaft, which prevents it from splitting and also keeps the head in place. The projecting end of the head is pared down to serve as a point. In many arrows of this type is found a small piece of quill neatly fastened in place with a binding of sinew about an inch and a half from the point so as to act as a barb. All this portion of the head is carefully smeared over with poison.

A modification of this type resulting in a foreshaft is often seen. The head is not pointed, but is cut off square and notched about three inches from its junction with the main shaft. Into the notch is inserted and gummed down a small triangular point of flaked stone such as agate or chalcedony; in more recent times, since iron and then glass have become available, these are generally found used instead (Plate IXa, e).

Still a further modification is seen in the remarkably ingenious type of arrow which, with a few minor variations in detail, is found widespread among almost all the Bushman tribes (Plate IXc, g.). Its main shaft is also of reed, with a simple notch at one end to receive the bowstring. Into the hollow of the other end is inserted a foreshaft of bone or quill, occasionally of wood, varying in length from two to six inches, and kept in place by a tight binding of sinew round the end of the main shaft into which it fits. Its projecting end fits into what may be called a link shaft, also of reed, about an inch long. Finally into the other end of the link shaft is fitted the point of the arrow, about four inches long and generally barbed. The whole link shaft is completely bound over with sinew. The point is made either of bone or of iron; bone is found mainly in the southern arrows, but is not restricted to them, while iron is a later introduction now used by all the Bushmen wherever obtainable. The whole point, together with the sinew binding on the link shaft keeping it in place, is coated over with poison.

Some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung) also have another type of arrow, with a reversible head of bone (Plate IXb, d). This is pared to a sharp point at one end, and rounded off at the other. For safety in carrying, the pointed end, which is the only one poisoned,

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411 is turned into the shaft; for shooting, the head is reversed, so that the rounded end is turned in and the poisoned end projects. In a more complex form based on the same principle, the head consists of two separate pieces of bone connected by a small link shaft or section of reed; the one piece is blunted at the tip, the other pointed and poisoned. Both pieces fit into the hollow of the main shaft of reed, and when the arrow is not required for use the blunted piece forms the projecting end of the head while the poisoned piece is in the shaft, but for shooting the head is reversed. This extremely interesting type [184] seems to be restricted in occurrence to these Bushman tribes, and is obviously directly correlated with the employment of poison as the effective agent of the arrow.

411 171 The tribes further north, such as the Northern Kung, the Heikum and the !O Kung of Angola, nowadays generally use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron points only. These resemble in type the arrows of the neighbouring Bantu peoples, and may have been imitated from them.

All these arrows are rather fragile, and can never seriously wound any animal which they strike. For their effect reliance is placed upon the poisonous mixtures dotted or smeared over their points.[1] 278 Many ingredients of different kinds are used in these mixtures, the more common being the vegetable juices of *Acokanthera venenata*, *Haemanthus toxicarius* (*Amaryllis disticha*), and various species of *Euphorbia*; the venom of the larger poisonous snakes, such as the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*) and the cobra (*Naia haje*); the beetle *Cladocera nigro-ornata*; the "baviaan spinnekop" or trapdoor spider; and the "klip-gift" or "rock poison" (probably a form of 184 arsenic). Not all of these are in use among the Bushmen as a whole. 278 There appears rather to be a fairly definite distribution of the various mixtures, dependent upon the substances available in the different localities; and probably each tribe of Bushmen has its own particular formula, although this cannot be asserted definitely. For general purposes we may distinguish three main types of arrow poison: the Namib Bushmen and those of the north-west districts of the Cape use a purely vegetable poison; the Southern Bushmen generally and some other tribes, such as the Hiechware and the Kung, use a

[1] A comprehensive survey of the earlier literature on the subject is given by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 199–214. Two more recent papers of importance are: Hall and Whitehead, "A Pharmaco-Bacteriologic Study of African Poisoned Arrows," *J. Infectious Diseases*, xli (1927), 31–65; and Waterston, "The Bushman's Arrow-Poison Beetle," *Natural History Magazine*, ii (1929), 74–89.

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PLATE IX

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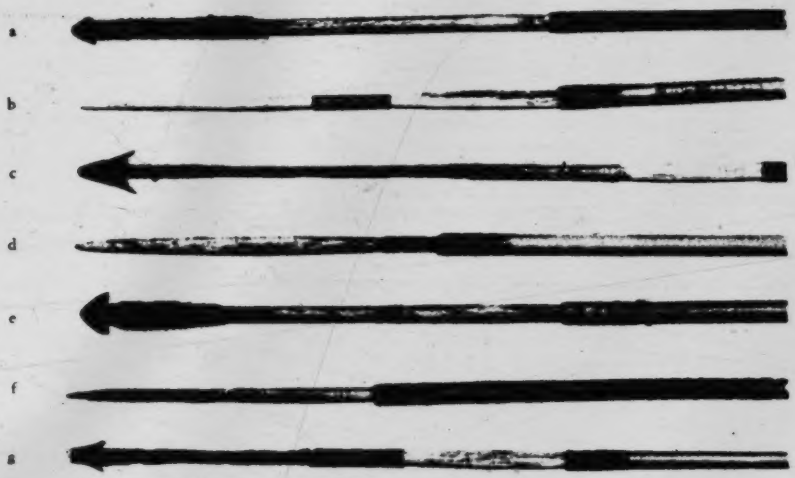
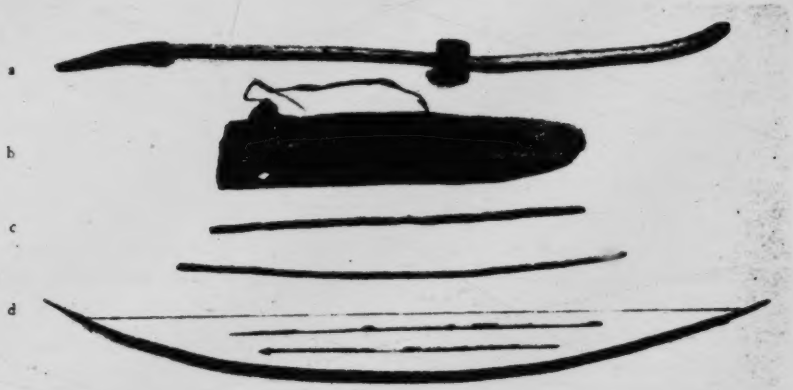


BUSHMAN ARROW-HEADS *British Museum*

f Simplest type: main shaft of reed, bone point coated with poison
a, e Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, barb and iron point coated with poison
c, g Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, reed collar or link shaft, and barbed iron head
b, d Reversible head; in b the poisoned end protrudes, in d the head is reversed

[412]



BUSHMAN WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS *British Museum*

a Digging-stick passed through perforated stone ball and tipped with horn
b Leather quiver for arrows
c Fire-sticks
d Bow and Arrows

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278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zizyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

114 278 There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

224 278 None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

411 In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about [412] two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.
[2] These statements are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 206.
[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Aulu," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 54.

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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by Stow, op. cit., 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144–7; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq.

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PLATE X

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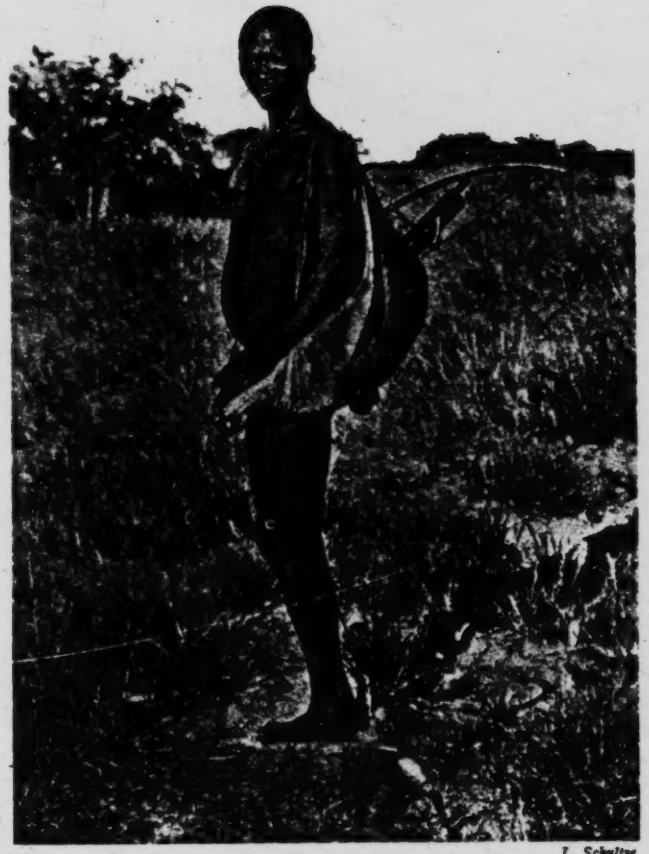

L. Schultze

"MOSARWA," S. KALAHARI,
Carrying Bow and Quiver

(*face p.* 140

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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the */naras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 393–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann-op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschi leute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103.

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628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 726 701 [622] [887] Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual, but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace, where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons [411] used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 721 628 726

628 727 If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the [184] burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or [721] even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

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by *Gaua* ' on the other side ' into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-Tji* had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, ' I have come to you ; you need not be afraid ; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, ' Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, ' If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me ? ' *Tji-Tji* answered, ' I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North-Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name " Bushman revolver " has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. " A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

[1] Schapera, " Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination. Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood, leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.